000 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) ngon; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tĭt; "boiled meat," nnĭă man e tĭt, from a niăm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

● 266 187 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

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[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (myūk-esŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard *Lygosoma fernandi* Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (myŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dĕŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭŏn), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭŏ I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

519 had been satis-
628 the loss was
a village
[411] The matter
[531] the Bebai
fied since
greater; their
chief, while
young man.
influence of
to Bebai and
fighting.
From this
628 the Pangwe
682 ple of an eye
tooth, and
only when
equal. In a
Esseng
ple had been
be concluded

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side
exactly the same: each had
burned and a man killed.
would have gone on, because
people were still dissatis-
they regarded their loss as
casualty had been a great
the other had been only a
However, by this time the
the Whites had penetrated
thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that
act according to the princi-
for an eye, a tooth for a
that blood revenge can cease
the losses on both sides are
"war" between Schumu and
people, eight Schumu peo-
killed, and peace could not
until eight Esseng men had

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

727 Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
266 mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[821] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

771 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, 825 there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones 769 but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 782 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 787 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 *Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end,* among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Ouyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biañ (mbiañ) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /création/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war, for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

The tribes vary in importance according to the level of development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the iYengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
1147 of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

575 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him
791 in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the
782 carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem
791 and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke
782 cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care be-
266 cause no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation. The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share go-
[789] ing to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

515 154 subjected to skillfully graduated demands, participating in ceremonies that arouse his imagination while exhausting him by their length, he gradually grows weaker and feels overwhelmed by the somber and mysterious aspect of initiation and falls into a kind of hallucination.

"In the depths of the hut [where the initiation takes place], there is a crudely sculptured image. Beneath that has been put a bundle containing the bones of a man long dead, and in front a mirror has been hung with its face towards the spectators. In all initiation proceedings the candidate is brought before the mirror and asked: 'What do you see?' For a long time he has to reply: 'I don't see anything.' As long as the reply is negative the initiation has not been successful. But finally the expected sign appears; he sees the likeness of a man in the mirror. Then he is led aside and made to describe the man whose face he has just seen. He had never seen him before [486] and cannot have known him, yet he describes him with great precision, giving all the facial traits. No cheating is possible in this. From the description given, the initiator, who is able to judge the likeness, identifies the man whose bones are beneath the image. This proof allows him to decide that the initiation is proceeding on the right track.

"Sometimes the initiator demands more personal and more active cooperation from the person seeking initiation. ... he may require that he bring the skull and a few bones of a relative of the first degree. ...

"Only when he brings in the material proofs of his crime are the final rites carried out. The bones are thrown into a [246] *cauldron with herbs and other ingredients that are unsavoury.* When the horrible mixture has been sufficiently cooked, the unfortunate man is made to drink a cup while the audience sings. Then what is left in the pot is divided, and everyone has a share. [789] The small bones are wrapped in old rags, and this bundle is given to the initiate: it constitutes his talisman, which he will wear and which will protect him from the dangers he fears and obtain for him the favors he desires.

721 779 782 ●266 608 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are excluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 779 782 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of certain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside [824]

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood. At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies [787] it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 782 266 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

68 695 781 to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the élûn quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaï seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [266] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ki abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these rites, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the élûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

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for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

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Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties [278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately [266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

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" 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mebe, mon ngui aduk avoti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb [539] the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs). The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In ● 266 the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

142 Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to [302] have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.*

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Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'anyege infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nson ane afan betata benga to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angéye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bityit: bevok benga sôm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vic bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbôa kidiase* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

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Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

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XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

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This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

266 114 that a man had been killed and eaten only two days before at the town of Olunda two miles below Nenge-nenge. Old king Kelun at Nenge-nenge confirmed the report, and in compliance with my request, loaned me an interpreter to accompany me to the place.

The tide being favourable, I decided to start without telling my boat boys the reason for my hasty departure. Olunda is quite close to the river bank, but upon our arrival the water had fallen so low that the only way to reach the town was by wading knee deep in mud up the bank. The people eyed our boat and myself in particular with marked suspicion, and much talking was indulged in during our landing. The headman was the most villainous looking specimen of a Fang I have ever met; he was well built and very muscular, but his face was extremely ugly and brute-like: he had only one eye, and an evil-looking one it was. He wore on his head an old red worsted trade cap, and smoked a dirty native clay pipe.

The object of my visit was well hidden, and we chatted on various matters in the palaver house. When I expressed a desire to walk through the town and treat any of his sick people, the headman said, "No sick here, people all away, let us talk in the *abeng*" (palaver house). However, without giving him any notice I presently left the palaver house and walked out into the main road, and the crowd followed. The headman repeatedly assured me that the town was not worth seeing; but I strolled leisurely along. Half-way through the town I noticed a quantity of intestines strung out to dry on sticks, and to the great annoyance of the headman and people, I made an examination of them which convinced me that they had been removed quite recently from a human body. I was assured that they were *entrails from a deer* and were being dried for the purpose of covering gourds to hold gunpowder. I then told the people the reports I had heard, also that I knew the intestines then drying were human, and accused them of cannibalism. They were very indignant, and declared, as all Fangs do, that their tribe never eat men. "Oh no, people in the far bush did, only bad Fang did so." A few moments later I picked up a human clavicle in the palaver house and took it away with me, threatening to report the matter to the Government.

In the palaver house of this same town was a boy of about sixteen years, in [727] chains, held as a hostage. I arranged to return in a few days and try to bring the lad to our mission station, but upon my return I again stopped at Nengi-Nengi, and then heard that the boy had been killed and eaten shortly after my departure.

266 I am inclined to believe that the reason for eating human flesh by the Fang is the result of a craving for animal food. The victims are generally males captured either in war, or members of other tribes waylaid and killed while journeying in the bush.

A Fang man told me that once he ate "some man" because he was persuaded to, and that it "passed goat far" (much superior to goat). He added, "I never do

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

so now because I known it's wrong." His latter statement I gave very little credit to. 266

Fang who admitted to me that "bad Fang eat men, but not the people of their town or tribe," asserted that all parts of the body are eaten; that the victims are not considered as sacrifices to any gods, but that the bones are used for *biang* (medicine).

Human flesh does not form part of the regular food of the people, and to a certain extent the natives seem ashamed to admit that "other Fang eat men"; they never admitted to me that any of *their tribe* did so.

XII.—*Religion, Fetish or Biang (medicine).*

These anthropophagi have some idea of God, a superor being, their *Tata* (father) *a he mam measu* (he made all things). *Anyambi* is their *tata* and ranks above all other Fang gods, because *a'se yôp* (he is above, *lit.* lves in heaven). The Fang have other or minor gods, the greatest of whom was *Sekôme*, and many Fang say *Sekôme* and *Anyambi* are one and the same god; hence the saying "*Sekôme anga hêm mam measu*" (Sekôme he made (arranged) all things). The following is a list of Fang minor gods: 776

Nzame.
Mabeka.
Nkwa.
Sekôme (reported as being Anyambi).
Ube.
Nzame begat Mabeka.
Mabeka begat Nkwa.
Nkwa begat Sekôme.
Sekôme begat Ube.

The Fang have no religion in the generally accepted meaning of the word, for it is mostly made up of an unlimited and disconnected chain of superstitious beliefs. [771]

The key-note of the superstitious beliefs of the Fang is that the Present and Future is filled with innumerable numbers of spiritual beings. The great spirit *Tata* (father) *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is considered indifferent to the wants and sufferings of men, women and children. I do not believe that worship is directed in any way whatever to the spirits of Present and Future, the natives seeming rather to consider propitiation, exhortation and supplication as the three things most essential and necessary. The spirits of Present and Future possess to a large degree the better human passions, and also the baser ones. The origin of these innumerable spirits of Present and Future is extremely vague: *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is credited with having created many; others are the souls of dead relatives, still retaining after death human sensations and desires. The Fang have the same